1: Pospisil E-5 (1954-1955) 1958 OJ29 Kapauku OJ29

It happens, sometimes, that one side starts winning, having succeeded in killing a few enemies and pushing the rest of them toward their village. The war leaders shout in order to stop the retreat. They scold and insult the panicky individuals but in vain. The retreat may be temporarily halted near the houses where barricades are made of short planks driven vertically into the earth. Soon the invading forces penetrate the village, looting and burning the houses, raping the unmarried girls, shooting pigs, cutting down banana trees and fences, and destroying the crop in the fields. After this is accomplished, the victors withdraw with their loot and leave the remnants of the village and crop to the beaten enemy. Land is never taken away from the defeated party.

The setting sun is a sign to stop the fighting. Both rival armies perform a "*waila tai*, a counterclockwise circular dance," and leave for their homes in the same fashion as they arrived at the battlefield—women in front, on the flanks and in the rear, and men in the middle. The wounded people are carried back to their villages on the shoulders of their fellow warriors. There, a skilled surgeon extracts the projectiles and makes an incision with a flint flake near the wound in order to let out the blood. This is also the time for the shaman to perform curative magic on wounded men and preventive magic for the healthy people. The dead are tied by their hands and feet to a pole and carried to the village where they are placed on a platform with the arrows left in their bodies. No war prisoners are taken. Instead, all the enemy are killed on the spot.

There are only a few taboos linked with war. Sexual intercourse is prohibited prior to and during the combat. "*Waimai*, the mad dance," and ditch digging are tabooed all the time during the hostilities. Since the breaking of these taboos would result in the death of other residents of the violator's village, the culprit is punished by beating and reprimand or sometimes even by death. On the contrary, painting oneself with red ochre or storing pork in one's house, both actions believed to cause the death of the violator alone, are not punished by the society.

Friends, "in-law" relatives and even blood relatives may meet on the battlefield as "enemies." To avoid killing one's own maternal uncle, wife's brother or best friend, one fights on the other end of the battlefield. Because of the institution of helping "in-law" relatives and friends in war, it may even happen that two brothers fight on opposite sides. They will go together to the battlefield and then split up, after making sure about each other's position on the battle line. Thus, a war is never a total one. Actually, it presents to the warrior as a target only those classificatory enemies who are neither tabooed to be killed nor constitute relatives or friends of the archer.

When both sides have an equal number of dead and are weary of the prolonged hostilities and the losses in lives and goods, the headman of one side may discuss the situation with other important men and dispatch a neutral "in-law" relative or friend as a go-between to negotiate peace. The enemy almost always agrees with the proposed peace, unless he has losses in lives in excess of those of the other side. If the dead are not matched in number, it is almost impossible to conclude peace

speaking groups of Elcho Island, the Glyde and Goyder Rivers on the west, and eastwards around Buckingham, Arnhem and Melville Bays, to Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw and south to Caledon and Blue Mud Bays, had little actual experience of the sinister cult of the *kalka*. But when the Methodist Mission moved from Elcho Island to the Crocodile Group and set up its headquarters at Milingimbi, an island lying a short distance off the coast, it brought the people who had accompanied the Mission into the very stronghold of a form of secret killing or sorcery that was strange to them. On this account they came to regard the people of the west—whom they called *warnba*, strangers—with fear and suspicion, and they have been more or less at loggerheads with them ever since, resulting in frequent blood feuds, and a considerable loss of life.

For years it was the practice of the natives who had moved from their own countries to the island of Milingimbi, into what was to them foreign and hostile territory, to discourage visits of the local people by acts of aggression and violence, depending on the Mission to protect them from reprisals.

Mr. Webb, who was in charge of the Methodist Mission in the Crocodile Islands, once informed me, when I was at Milingimbi during a brief respite from patrols on the mainland of Arnhem Land, that in the early days of the Mission there he had once, to maintain peace, bought all their fighting spears from the natives, but that when an attack from the mainland was reported to be imminent he had had to re-issue these—though in actual fact the attack did not occur.

As often occurs when a people are brought into contact with those of a different culture, the natives from the east tended to exaggerate traits of the Burara that they regarded as undesirable and often told me ribald stories stressing the misdeeds of their neighbours. After a long recital of the faults of the Burara, whom he stigmatized as *warnba*, one informant remarked by way of special emphasis, '*yappa lukka!*'—they cohabit with their sisters. The brother-sister tabu is rigidly enforced in east Arnhem Land. Even to mention the name of a woman in the presence of her brother is a grave ritual offence, called *mirriri*, and brother-sister incest is a crime for which there is no expiation, punished by the death of both parties.

The charge of incest against the Burara may owe its origin to the fact that these people, unlike their neighbours to the east, had a normal tribal organization, which meant that members of clans of opposite moieties within the tribe and of the appropriate kinship status could marry, since the tribe is not exogamous. Because people between whom marriage was permitted were actually members of the same tribe, the practice would suggest incest to their neighbours of the east, already fearful of the magic of their *kalka* and ready to attribute to these people practices that were to them anti-social and unnatural. This attitude of the Elcho Island people was well shown by the fact that they charged their neighbours with cannibalism and said of them '*nganak lukka*'—they eat flesh (human)—overlooking the fact that they themselves also practised a form of ritual